2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated with the historical juxtoposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe.

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing.

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained raiders.

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began

[P. 3-A]

especially parrots. Live parrots are kept in the villages and carefully raised for their feathers. They know the art of making parrots produce yellow feathers as has been mentioned in another section. Great herds of wild pigs feed in the fields and do great damage to the potato and manioc crops. The Chaná retaliate by hunting the thieves and eating their tasty flesh. They also do the same with deer, ant-bear, fox, hare, and similar four-footed animals. Monkeys, being great robbers of fruit, cause damage for which they have to pay dearly, as many are killed, their meat replacing the stolen fruits. [Sanchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

SHELTER

Terena houses, *ovokúti*, were built in a circle surrounding a central plaza called *nóneovokúti*. Villages, which varied in size, were built near sources of water and cultivable land. In the final stages of their stay in the Chaco, villages were not very permanent, as the Terena were on the move. The village, *oneu*, was not only a dwelling place but was also the primary political unit and the center of ceremonial life. Each household had its cultivated plot outside the village, and if these plots were at some distance from the village temporary brushwood shelters were thrown up for the night. The size and disposition of the houses gave no indication of the organization of the Terena into moieties or of the social importance of the chiefs.

As the Terena no longer remember the type of house which they used in the Chaco, we must depend upon historical sources. Even historical sources give us but an indirect description of the Terena house. Sánchez Labrador[1] gives us a description of a Chaná house, and as he states that the Terena belonged to the Chaná people and lived near them there is some justification in assuming that the Terena house resembled that of the Chaná:

The Chaná houses differ in type from Christian ones. Each house is from 16 to 20 yards (varas) long and 8 yards wide. The form of their structure is an arch, which is not supported by center pillars or columns. To sustain it, they use relatively long, thick sticks which make up the wall, the upper ends of which are curved inwards and tied together, but so that they do not touch. The height is about 5 or 6 yards. The houses have no ridges for the part which should be covered by the ridge is left open in order to let in light and to let out the smoke. That is why they do not close the arch completely. The whole framework is covered with a kind of thick long reed which they weave in a curious manner and place over the frame except for the opening. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 275–276.]

[1] [Work published in 1910–17, See bibliography, P. 69 -- Analyst]

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *caiána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant.

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used.

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires.

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle.

2:Oberg E-6 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[2] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[2] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

and a platform bed resting on forked sticks. Be 159
sides himself, his wife, and six children, the house [592]
is shared with his mother, a brother, and a male
cousin. Eleuterio, his wife, and the small children [513]
sleep on the bed, and the rest of the occupants [358]
sleep in hammocks. Eleuterio's wife uses iron
kettles for most of the cooking, but clay pots are [415]
sometimes used also. The occupants of the house
eat out of clay and wooden dishes. The house is
situated on a lot in the village and is surrounded
by a number of mango and orange trees. Eleuterio [231]
has two dogs, a hen with three chicks, and a young
rooster.

Eleuterio came to the Post with his uncle and 159
grandfather when he was 5 years old. His grand- 177
father, who was a medicine man, came from the 795
Chaco. Both his uncle and grandfather were bap-
tized in the Catholic faith, although his grand-
father never became a regular church member.
Eleuterio was also baptized in the Catholic faith. [797]
At the Post he attended the Protestant mission
school until he was 12. During these years he
lived with and worked for the English missionary,
herding his livestock and carrying mail, but was
not converted to Protestantism.

After leaving school he lived with his uncle 159
until he was 16, assisting him in cultivating his
little farm at the Post. He then went to Aqui-
dauana where he worked for 2 years as a mason's
assistant and later helped a Japanese vegetable
farmer. He then went to work on a fazenda, tak-
ing his mother with him.

After working 3 months on the fazenda he re-
turned to the Post to help his grandfather, who
was becoming very old. After his grandfather [591]
died he married and went to live with his father-
in-law, where he remained for 4 years. During
this time he, together with some other Indians,
worked for a while on the telegraph line. In
1932 he and several other Indians went with the
manager of the Post to fight in the revolution,
staying away for 6 months.

When he came back he built his own house in
the village and began working for the manager
of the Post, doing many things, such as building [465]
repairs, blacksmithing, and farming, for which
he receives 14 cruzeiros per day. He does not
cultivate land of his own. He has been the cap-
tain of one of the three football teams and the [526]
manager of the sports club where dances are given.

[Post-Chaco Period]

In 159
one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the [352]
other room is set up with shelves and a counter. [353]
His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind [405]
the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from
the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field [241]
outside the village, growing manioc and sugar- [443]
cane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, [438]
which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys
rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cig-
arettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells
to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do [891]
simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, [997]
he worked with his father on his little farm. Later
he went periodically to work on the neighboring
fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other
goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the
store for some years and worked away from the
village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65
years ago. He is married and has six grown
children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his chil- [592]
dren live in a five-room, painted adobe house with
a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made [352]
tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio [513]
and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks.
In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter [405]
and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes [416]
great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, [231]
10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he
cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. [241]
His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells
to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods [494]
and people between the railroad station at Taunay
and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a
trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithme- [212]
tic from a Brazilian while he was working away [797]
from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant
missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portu-
guese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a [191]
little English. He reads newspapers and is the
scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first
as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence
about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 [59] years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the [551] Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Por- [212] tuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and [191] he now lives with his six children, who help him [592] cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes [342] covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough [358] platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner [353] are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, [241] and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and [231] a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the [166] Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. [285] Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros [435] apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His [551] native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild [592] and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, [352] and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him.

He has land outside the village on which he [241] grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns [231] about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some [438] milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian [231] farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

[P. 19-B]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion.

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[231]
[511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal.

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Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench.

[342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him.

[212]
[794]
[463]
[282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers.

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[212]
[797]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

that mobile warfare and the increasing dependence upon loot in the form of livestock and war captives led to a degree of nomadism and a band type of organization, with the war chief guiding the movements of several villages. Although the *unati* and their relatives remained the class of highest rank, they state that the war chief was the individual of highest rank; this would appear to support the assumption that once raiding became important, the mobile band also became important much after the pattern of the Mbayá who were organized into bands. Yet the Terena never quite gave up their dependence upon agriculture and appear to have planted crops whenever possible. When we first hear of the Terena in the accounts of Sánchez Labrador in the year 1767, they, along with their Chaná brethren, were agriculturists settled near the Apá tributary of the Paraguay River. Just prior to their movement to their present location in 1845, they had moved near the present site of Corumbá, 300 km. to the north. This fact, therefore, also seems to add evidence to the assumption that the horse inaugurated a nomadic type of life.

105 231 177

LAW

The law-enforcing group was the extended family. If a man committed murder the relatives of the murdered man would try to kill the murderer in revenge. By custom, only 1 day was allowed for retaliation. If the murderer escaped to his own relatives and an attempt was made to kill him a feud would follow. To avoid this, custom demanded that the murderer be placed in the forefront in the next raid. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, the crime would be expiated. If he did not succeed, he would have to continue until he killed an enemy or was killed himself. This rule applied to members of all classes. It is said that the relatives of the murdered man saw to it that the murderer had little chance of avoiding death at the hands of the enemy.

676 687 [596] [627]

If a man caught another in the act of adultery with his wife, he could kill the man, which would settle the matter. He could kill his wife also, but he usually contented himself by beating her. But if the adulterer killed the husband it, also, was not considered murder, as he was defending his life. This, however, brought shame to the husbands

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PLATE 1.—Views of Bananal Village (Terena). a, Post buildings and main street. b, A Terena garden.

[End Plate 1]

[P. 73]

G /68 cont./
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make hammocks and various fabrics. --In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees. They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

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And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

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130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros. --It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head. --They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus, [231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central [417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikináu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as [556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

[361]

140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same